2; Damm et al. --75 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 833 Ifaluk

The natives talked with animation about the forms of coitus... On Ifaluk the usual procedure is for the woman to lie on her back, and the man to squat between her knees and to draw her legs over his thighs. Other forms were only known to a few men, who had learned them on Yap and Mogomog. After the intercourse the man cleans the vagina with his Lavalap.

4: Krämer--142 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 833, 201 Lamotrek

It is usual for the man to ask the woman whether she is willing to have sexual intercourse, ramoidjau. The woman expresses her consent by moving her hand over her face from the forehead down; this gesture is known as tŏfi (mat).

4: Krämer--142-143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 833 Elato

The word for coitus is tengi.

It is usually preceded by lengthening of the labia minora and defloration of a virgin, ulut* which takes place as soon as the breasts of the girl begin to develop. The former is best known from Oleai. The mother calls in a man, the válevei. She sits on a porch, metalim, and the man and young girl stay in the gapel in the rear. For four days the man tries to stretch the labia minora, fir, which is considered absolutely necessary. The women laugh at a dărefir (not lengthened).

After four days follows the rupture of the hymen, ŋgatangat; the vagina is gradually widened, first with the fifth, and then with the fourth, third, second and first finger and finally with two fingers simultaneously. [143] The mother pays the man for his work, but probably not always. It is not certain whether he is the first to have intercourse with the girl. In any case, the valevei is taboo for the girl.**

*All women without children are also called ulut; a widow is known as lipidj.

**ua, boat; level, voyage... Thus the literal meaning of the word valevei is "boat of voyage," which is a beautiful name for this man; see Krämer Die Samoainseln, I, page 81 where the word used for the priests means "warship."

4: Krämer--143 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 173, 833 Elato

On Elato, Hambruch learned the following about the origin of coitus:

In olden times the people did not know anything about coitus. Then Lūgeilĕn came and saw a man and a woman, the man Temōnémōn and the woman Liparáre. She was very beautiful. "Well, what are you doing? Where is your husband?" "He is out fishing." "All right, go and bathe and afterwards I shall show you something pleasant." "But first I have a question to ask you. Do you like to have intercourse?" "I don't know." "Then go into the house. I shall show you something." And then he instructed the woman in sexual intercourse. The woman was very pleased about it. Lugeilĕn said good-bye to her. Being most interested in what she had just learned the woman completely forgot about her cooking. She ran down to the beach and called loudly for her husband: "Come, come, quickly! Leave the canoe and the fish. I'll show you something new!" "Whatever is the matter?" "Come, come quickly," and the man had to go into the house. The woman showed him how he was to lie down, because he did not know anything at all. When he did not have an erection, the woman took his penis in her hand and rubbed it thoroughly and then he could sleep with her. This they practiced for days and weeks until finally they had lost all their flesh. Then Lugeilĕn returned and asked the two: "What are you doing?" And they told him. "Oh, stop! You should do it only once a week, otherwise you will die." And they followed his suggestion.

28: Spiro--92-93 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 854, 833, 181 Ifalik

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

too much.'). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

28: Spiro--122 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 881, 833, 513 Ifalik

"The lack of a male adolescent rite du passage renders the question of the age of permissive sexual intercourse a knotty one. Girls, as we have seen, may have intercourse after their third menstruation, and probably do. Boys, may not have intercourse after the first indication of their sexual virility. My male informant insisted that a young man of the age of Talimera, who is about 16, was not permitted to indulge in copulation. This statement was verified by my questioning of the young men in that age range. If this is true, then there is quite a sexual differential in the ages at which the sexes are permitted sexual activity.

Should a young man have intercourse with a girl before the sanctioned time, both the boy and girl are beaten by the girl's parents, and the chiefs reprimand the boy's parents for not having supervised their son's behavior carefully. The natives, however, know of no case of this kind, nor could I discover any in the course of our stay on the island. (3)"

"3. The sleeping arrangements of the household present a possible complication. The parents, as we have seen, sleep alone--or with their infant--in their mosquito nets. The single young men and young women sleep in unisexual groups, but the prepuberty children sleep in one net. It is difficult to believe that children sleeping in close proximity under one net don't engage in some type of sexual explorations. In the absence of any other evidence, however, we shall have to leave this point open, only indicating here the possibility of some sexual activity."

"After her third menstruation the girl may take a sweetheart (gamar). She must wait because her vagina is small prior to that time, and should she have intercourse, it might be damaged. A girl will usually refuse to have intercourse with a boy who is not her gamar. The gamar relationship is a formally recognized institution, so that it involves certain mutual rights and responsibilities, and might very well be [123] conceived as a kind of experimental engagement period, for marriage always follows one of the gamar relationships. The man gives his gamar presents of tobacco, fish, skirts, and other objects. Should he go on an overseas voyage, he will bring her a present. The girl may give the man gifts, as well, though she has little to offer him. Thus, the girl stands to gain by this relationship, whereas in a casual affair she receives nothing. Ideally, therefore, when a boy asks a girl to be his gamar and she agrees, she will not permit him to have intercourse with her for the first two nights they sleep together, so that she can be assured that he is sincere about wishing to make her his gamar, and is not looking for a casual affair. The man indicates the sincerity of his intentions by presenting her with presents. The girl will terminate the relationship, when the man ceases to provide her with gifts, for his behavior indicates that he no longer cares about her, but regards her merely as a sexual partner.

The couple in the gamar relationship reveal their secret to no one. Eventually, the

parents may notice the absence of their son or daughter at night, and may inquire, in which case they are told. But no one else is aware of the relationship. All courtship is completely clandestine, a man giving no indication at all that a particular girl is his gamar. Unmarried youth usually ignore each other should they meet on a public path, and the same pattern characterizes the behavior of the gamars, so that unless one actually saw the couple in the act of lovemaking, one would never guess who a boy's or girl's gamar is. Should either gamar reveal the identity of his gamar, the other would terminate the relationship. (4)

The boy visits his gamar only at night, after the adults are sleeping. Should the night be dark, he will crawl into the girl's mosquito netting, and remain with her until daybreak, when he returns to his home. If her house is overcrowded they retire to the bush, where they may sleep in a lean-to, or spread mats on the ground."

"4. The very word, gamar, is taboo in conversation in mixed company. From the attitude of the informants, I had the feeling that it is almost always the man who violates the trust, not the woman."

28: Spiro--123-125 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-5
116, 539, 833 Ifalik

"Bwarux-Love Songs--a selection

The following are two love songs, taken from the collection of Dr. Burrows. The bwarux is the largest single category of songs and it is interesting to note--and I chose these for the purpose--the candid language that the woman uses--in glaring contrast to the puritanical taboo on any reference to sex in mixed company. Many of these songs are well known, and are sung by the women when men aren't around and by the men and young men when women aren't around. [124]

Love and Parting

Flower of the sevang tree,
Ango that blooms in the taro swamp.

My sweetheart comes to me,
Stays close to me.
Our feelings are the same
I understand what he says.
He told me 'I'll never leave you.'
I asked 'Truly?', and he said, 'I would lie to you.'
He is like a vein in my body;

Grips me like breadfruit roots under ground.
He loves me too much to leave me.
Wherever he goes the thought of me is with him.
My love is meat and drink to him.
I am like the garland on his head
Like the feathers of the tropic bird
That flies without alighting.
His head is adorned with its plumes,
He makes a fine showing at the canoe house,
Or as he goes into the meeting house Atelu.
He cannot bear to stay long away from me;
He comes around by a back way,
Comes through the woods to find me
At my house in Felarik.
He rejoices at the sight of me,
Takes me in his arms.
We go into the woods together,
Find a pleasant clearing;

28: Spiro--123-125
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-3
Ifalik,

There we lie down side by side,
Where the gavwu grows low about us.
I take off my skirt, spread my legs,
Show him my genitals.
He admires my thighs,
Caresses me (thighs or vagina) with his hand,
I adore his caresses.
We prepare a bed and lie down
Under the coconut leaves,
Out in the woods where nobody comes.
We lie face to face, or from behind
He clasps me tight.
If he leave me I will be in despair.
We go to the little islet
Called Arelau (formerly in the channel between Falalap and Felarik. Washed away in a typhoon)
Not too close to shore,
Separated from the main islands,
Where not every body can come.
In the midst of our joy comes a feeling of pain.
I tell him, 'You are like my little boy.'

28: Spiro--123-125
116, 539, 833

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

People say, 'They are always together.'
He tells me he is going away,
Going to sail to a far land,
Going to take a canoe and go.
The canoe hoists her sails in the bay by our islet,
He gets aboard. [125]
Though he is far away I will not forget.
He has left his perfume behind;
Left it on my skirt,
Left it on my body;
For a long time it stays.
He has gone far away
To the island of Lamotrk.
As he lies down to sleep
In the canoe house there
He dreams of his sweetheart,
Dreams I am sleeping beside him,
That he is holding me like a child,

That we are in the woods together,
In our favorite clearing.
Always he holds me tight.

He asks me, 'What do the people say?'
I tell him 'A man from Rauau
'Told me not to come to you.
'But I will not leave you,
I pay no attention to what they say.'

Flower in my ear,
Fragnant ango flower,
It is well."

Note: The songs emphasize much gossiping about the love affairs.

"Sexual foreplay may include the kiss (tiluoal), the 'French' kiss (enguloa), kissing of the breast and nipple (etut), cunnilinguis (erangitingial, and felatio (erangai).

Lovers may employ culturally patterned words of endearment to express their love for each other. The generic term, Igatrux, (I like you, or love you) is employed to express any feeling of love or fondness existing between any two people, including sweethearts. The same is true of the superlative, Igatruxamesau, (I love you to death). There are at least two terms, however, that only lovers employ--Gamararangi (I love you very much), and Atimazei (You are my liver).

Intercourse is effected in three ways--with the woman lying on the ground, and the man squatting between her legs; the man lying on the ground, and the woman on top of him; or the man entering from the rear. Orgasm (zapash) is recognized in both men and women, though it was impossible to obtain information on the relative intensity of desire in men and women. The male informants did agree that there was a differential quantitative difference in the number of outlets males and females may enjoy. Men tire after two acts of intercourse, they maintained, but women do not tire. (5)"

"5. The men may merely be ignorant of the fact that women can have intercourse without desiring it."

"Bwarux-2
Fierce Lover

Here I stand in the woods of Ievang
In my favorite shady grove,
Happily waiting for my lover.
He sets out and walks the trails
Until he comes to my side.
(I tell people it is a hilly place to deceive them).

As he walks the sun shines on his face paint,
The perspiration gleams;
How handsome he is!
Fragrant with flowers on head and neck,
With rich perfume from Truk
In his hair
His great mane of long hair.

Seeing me, he cuts coconut leaves,

Spreads them on the ground
And says, 'Let's sit down here.'

He reaches for my skirt
To take it off;
Snatches it off with his hands.
'All right, whatever you like.'
He sees beneath my skirt and cries out with delight:
'I want to eat you like a beetle nut!'
He sees my tattooing (Ted[Burrow's] note: Women were tatooed mainly on
And says stand up; the inner side of the thighs, and about the genitals.)
I want to drink you like toddy.
He looks me all over,
Always wanting to drink me like toddy.
But I begin to fear
That someone might see us
And go and tell.

We look into each other's eyes
He is a man of Ievang.

'You are like that fierce fish
That strikes at breadfruit leaf.
'When you see me you seize me.
'Now that we are together, let's stay here!
'Tomorrow you can't come; it is too far.'
Still he wants me, his toddy.
It is like tobacco, too scarce to pass around,
But treasured in a little basket.
So I keep the treasure of my body
In a little basket for him."

"This is not true of pregnancy, however, which is not concealed, and which is not a tabooed topic for conversation; nor is it true of the exposure or reference to the female breast. (10)"

"10. Despite the exposure of the breast, it definitely has an erotic value, and is fondled and kissed in sexual foreplay. Furthermore, it is an object of sexual attraction, many men commenting, for example, on the attractive breasts of a woman in the TAT."